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LETTER

TO THE REVEREND

Mr. JOSEPH REEVES,

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Said to be tendered by the

LEGISLATURE,

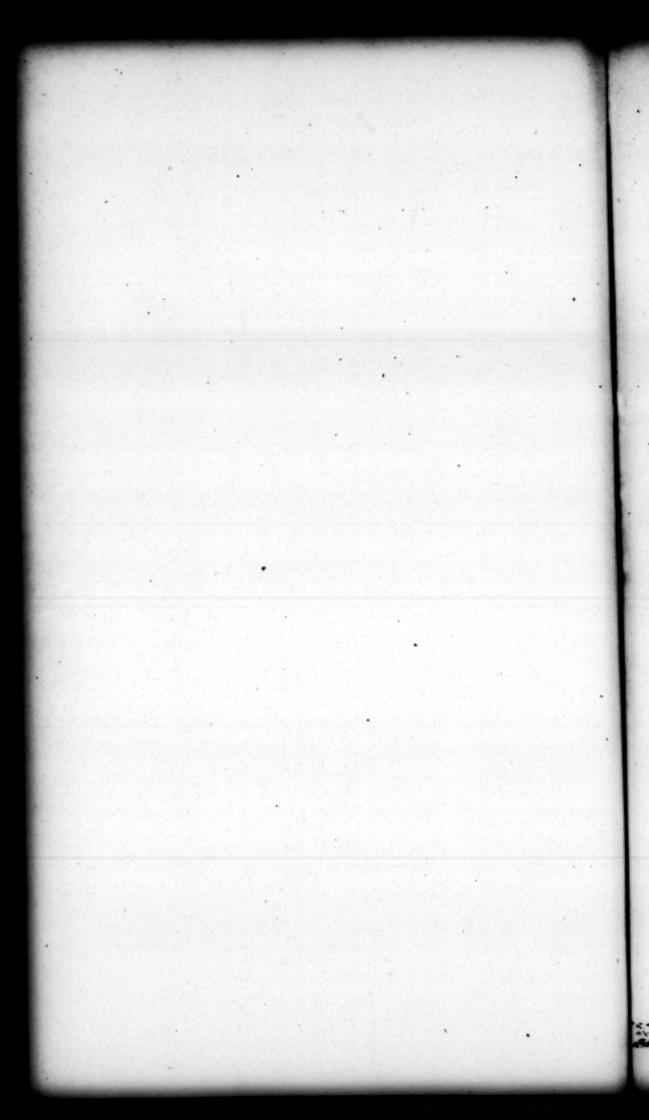
TO THE

CATHOLICS OF ENGLAND.

By the Rev. William Billing.

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LETTER

TO THE REVEREND

Mr. JOSEPH REEVES, &c.

SIR.

NY endeavour to reflore confidence and harmony among us would be most thankfully received, by the lovers of peace. Is your View of the Oath, an attempt to reflore peace, or an open declaration of war? I take it to be the latter. You flep forth as a peace-maker, as fuch you ought to be impartial; but you are a party concerned. You offer terms of reconciliation; these are that we should give up every article of contention; your ultimatum is; Gentlemen, take the oath as explained by the Committee and the Ministers, and we are friends. Are these terms honourable? Nations at variance make mutual concessions to restore peace. Here the guardians of religion must give up their underflandings, and facrifice their consciences to restore peace, without any guarantee for the observance of stipulated terms. We cannot accept of

of your mediation. We confider your pamphlet as a fecond edition of the Blue Book, revised and corrected. It offers no new argument, throws no new light on the subject; we therefore remain inflexible in condemning the oath. We can not take it. Had your attempt fucceeded, could we accept of your terms, we should separate from the great body of the Catholic Church. The Irish Bishops have declared against the oath; the Scottish Bishops have done the same; the chief pastor of the church has declared his fentiments as clearly as he can do, without a formal censure. I have vouchers for this. You must know, that of course a formal cenfure must follow, should we take the oath. Then we should no longer be Catholics, should we perfift, but mere protesting Diffenters.

What then have you been doing? I will tell you. You have encouraged the Committee to purfue their favourite plan, in fpight of any opposition. You say, with them, that the oath is a mere test of civil allegiance; then not even a General Council has a right to interfere. They would think themselves authorised to proceed, notwithstanding any censure from any ecclesiastical authority whatsoever. Thus your endeavours to restore peace are tantamount to an advice to proceed, though the whole world stood against them. You can not surely place such considence in your reasons, as to think that we should yield and comply. Then we are divided. You will have the bonour of contributing to a schism among English Catholics: I hope

you will not make it your boald: for you fay, p. 12.

"Schiff, should it once break out, would be to us

"a far more fatal evil than all the penal laws put

"together:" Why then contribute your aid to such
an evil? Or do you really think that your arguments
are sufficiently weighty to make converts of us all?

So much the worse. It were better that a few of us
should fall; than that we should all be cut off to-

gether.

The Committee have told us, in their Appeal from the confure of the Bifliops to the Catholics at large, 2. 4. that " the operation of the Bill' is to leave " those ideal numbers of Catholics, who perlift to " hold the tenets, in question, to continue victims " to the laws," &c. They do not folicit relief for all the body; they claim it for those only, who make the renunciation in question. ibid. This is to be done in the terms of the prefent outh. Whoever therefore refules to take the present oath, will be branded with the nickname of Papist, at holding doctrines pernicious to the flate, and hoffile to the peace of fociety; and as fuch will remain a devoted victim to those fanguinary laws which are a diffrace to the nation; though they should renounce and abjure all the heterodox doctrines, which calumny or prejudice has affixed to their creed. We find that the number of those, who refuse the oath, is neither ideal nor contemptible. The Committee then have adopted a plan, p. s. which will procure relief for fome, at the expence of the reft, I will venture to fay the major part. They pretend, indeed, at prefent, that those who refuse the oath will only be on the B 2

the fame footing as before, and that we need not quarrel among ourselves for temporal concerns. For, Sir, you will please to remark, that the last speech of the Diffenter, in the Dialogue, is the reasoning of one of the Committee in a letter now before me. Indeed every argument of the Diffenter has been made use of, at one time or other, by the abertors of the oath. The answer of the Catholic, which is not yet refuted, shews that doctrine to be schismatical. We should indeed remain on the same footing as before, if the hand of power continued lenient as heretofore. But who can answer for that; The Bill, in its operation, appears to be a revival of the penal laws, against all, who refuse the oath; this is evidently supposed in the above quotation from the Committee's letter. The provisoes leave us at the mercy of a trading justice of the peace. What hopes then of remaining quiet?

I shall not complain of your harsh treatment, nor will I return your compliments. Thus far you are a Catholic, and I hope will ever remain such; as such I address you. I consider you as far removed from the scene of action, and of course ignorant of many important sacts, which throw light on the question; but are not set down in your original memoirs. The two laymen, who wrote first on your side of the question, have set out on a different plan; but they are not Catholics. You have adopted another method. We shall want a history of your variations. More of this in its proper place. You say, in the first page of your presace, "Who has

" been wrong, and who has been to blame, would " he useless to enquire." Yet you enter upon a minute enquiry on the rife and progress of the oath. for no other apparent reason than to clear the Committee, and condemn the Bithops. In some places, your language is harsh, by no means confonant with, your protestations of profound respect for the Church and its paftors. p. 22. I shall have occasion to notice fome of them hereafter. You indeed feem to think that the history of the oath will assist us to form a judgment on its intrinsic merits. It may be a means to inform us of the views of those, who conducted the bufiness: but the oath must stand or fall, by itfelf. Whenever an oath of allegiance is propoled, by whomfoever composed or offered, religion then commands us to examine, "Whether the test be " conformable to Catholic principles, to Catholic " faith, and found morality." p. 18. This examen is to be made, not from the intent or meaning of the persons who proposed the oath, or conducted the business, but from the wording of it; not from the Bill which enacts it, but from a close inspection into every clause and expression of which it is composed. For every diffine proposition of it, which has not a relation to another, stands on its own grounds, and must be approved of or censured from the obvious fense of the words. The Committee have not had recourse to any of these indirect means of information to pronounce on the oath of James I. or they would have condemned it. Such an unmerciful flatute, under that tolerant and just prince, as that

act which prescribes the above oath, was never published, by any of the Pagan Emperors. No, they very properly examined the oath by itself. Let them then be candid, and do the fame, by the prefent outh. We are called upon to fwear to the plain, obvious and ordinary fense of the words. can not be altered, by any circumstances attending the rife and progress of it, nor by any meaning or intention, either of the Ministers or the Committee. If this oath, in its obvious fense, contains nothing but Catholic doctrine, it must be Catholic at Paris, Rome and Conflantinople, where the explication is unknown, the fame as in London; it will be Catholic doctrine a thousand years hence, when the Blue Book will be forgotten, the same as to day. Strip it then of its foreign trappings, in which it has been ludicroufly dreffed, by both the editions of the Blue Book, and fend it abroad; I will venture to affert, that it would be condemned by every Catholic univerfity in the world. This indeed was equivalently granted in the last General Meeting, by the supporters of the oath: but they contended that foreign univerfities would not understand it as we do. That' it could not be translated into any language to the fame import as it bears in English. I'believe it can' not be translated into any language to the meaning which it is faid to bear: but the plain, obvious and ordinary meaning of the words may be rendered in any other language; then the meaning which is given to it, is not the plain and ordinary fense of the words, to which only we are called to fwear; but a forced

forced explication, foreign to the real import of the terms. We have long been well acquainted with the ordinary fense of the words, of which this oath is composed. We want not the affifance of Minifters or Lawyers to inform us how they have, thus far, been understood. When we are told, that we must look up to others for the true meaning of common language, which is quite familiar to us, we cannot belo thinking that we are treated as children, who have not yet learned to read. . When it is faid, that we must submit to the interpretation of others, we recoil at the abfurdity: for of two things one must be the case; either the interpretation of those great men is the obvious and ordinary meaning of the oath, and then we need no explication: or it is not, and in that case we can not take it. This appears fo plain to any man of found judgment, that I am ashamed to insist on it: but it is the main device of our adverfaries, now again, held forth to enfnare the ignorant. Had I never feen the oath. or any thing written against it, the publications in its defence would effectually have fixed my opinion. These alone are sufficient to condemn it.

These observations will, I apprehend, render it unnecessary to sollow you through your historical part, and even though your reasoning on the Oath, as far as page as, where, at last, you come to exmine the wording of it: the only question at issue between us. For, Sir, the object and design of the Oath are not proofs that it is properly worded. As to the nature of it (which I think should mean the import of the words) you inconsistently prove it to

be purely political, from the act which enjoins it. page 19. "The Act finds us Catholics, it declares " us Catholics, and it leaves us Catholics." This laft. Sir, you should have proved; it is what has all along been denied. You go on, " It confe-" quently contains nothing derogating from the " principles of our Catholic profession." What a consequence! If you beg a principle, which you know is denied, what right have you to infer any confequence at all from it? The Bill is of a political tendency; Be it fo; Therefore the Oath is? It requires more ingenuity than I am possessed of The Bill of James I. is to fee the connection. almost throughout of a religious nature; therefore the Oath therein prescribed is also of a religious nature: Will this be admitted? The Committee's Letter to the Bishops, page 14. calls it a political Oath. Had the Legislature substituted the Oath of Supremacy, in place of the present one, would that also be purely political, because the Bill which enacts it is fuch? Is an Oath, in which our religious principles on one hand, and our civil rights on the other, are deeply interested, as you fay in the first page, Is it, I fay, purely political? If it is of a civil or political nature, because it treats of civil concerns; let it then be also of a religious nature, because it treats of religious matters. As both concerns are equally interested; let it be said to be a mixt Oath; not purely political. Your reasoning then on the nature of the Oath is also foreign to the question.

You have composed the history in such a manner as to render it impossible for me to follow you, without descending to personal accusation. This I have all along wished to avoid. I cannot however pass over it, without some remarks. Yet I shall take this occasion to declare, that I mean only to attack measures, not men. Let every one answer to God and his conscience, for his intentions. These I have no business to examine. You, Sir, must know that men setting out with the purest views, should they take a wrong step, or should they be thwarted in their projects, will sometimes emancipate themselves from the shackles of right reason and religion; and it is often difficult to lead them back to the right road.

This supposed, I will tell you, Sir, after reading your account from the original memoirs, by which you are guided, that I do not find one fingle sentence in the Dialogue, which I now wish had been omitted. I know well that the protestation fprung from a Protestant quarter, as you fay in page 5, but, I believe, it will not be denied, that it had the approbation of the Committee, previous to its being fent to any of the Vicars Apostolic; this is what I remarked and complained of. The two alterations you mention, page 6, are not faid to be the only changes, which the Bishops demanded. You represent the affair as if every difficulty had been fettled to their entire fatisfaction. You should know that the case was otherwise. The Committee wrote to the Bifhops to know their fentiments on the proteflation, after it was altered; but what attention

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was paid to their answers? They ought to have fent the Protestation to them, and requested them to make what alterations they thought necessary. At least they should have altered every clause, against which the Bishops objected. Do your original memoirs fay that they did? Then the Protestation was handed about among Protestants, and having been feen by the Ministers, &c. was not to be altered. This, Sir, was the plea at the time of both the meetings. You fay, page 6. that the Secretary did not prefide at the first meeting, and he repeatedly disclaimed any right of giving an opinion on any of the subjects which were agitated at it. I believe, he did. He made the fame protestation at a fimilar meeting, on the Oath, This he called together, opened the business, and was appealed to as Chairman to maintain order: this is what I call prefiding. The above protestation of the learned Secretary, if I remember right, is inferted in the Red Book, which he fent for the instruction of the Bishops. Not a man in the nation has faid, written and done half fo much in this bufinefs, as this Gentleman, who has not yet formed his opinion on the subject in debate!

Whence the oath arose is a matter of persect indifference, only the friends of the Committee should not have been so positive in afferting, that no oath would be required. At all events, when it was first offered it should have been sent to the Bishops, for their approbation. This was not done. Indeed, according to their instructions, the Committee ought to have called the body at large together

a new Oath. But you fay, page 8 and 9 the Oath, when altered by the Ministers, " was submitted to " the inspection of the three Ecclesiastical Mem" bers of the Committee, the chosen representatives " of the whole Catholic Clergy in England:" this was not sufficient. The transactions about the Protestation had convinced the Committee that, at least two of the three maintained opinions quite different from numbers of the Clergy, and two of the Bishops. All the mischief that has since happened originates in not consulting the Bishops, previous to publishing the Oath, in Woodfall's Diary.

I shall here observe, that every Bishop in Ireland is, by his office, a member of their Committee; while here, we have only three, and these chosen by meetings, nine tenths of which are always Laymen.

The verbal declaration of Mr. Talbot, p. 9. that he found nothing in the Oath contrary to faith and good morals, if well understood, makes the case worse than before. I agree with you, p. 12. that the Committee had always declared, "that, "if the Oath contained any thing contrary to faith or the word of God, it must unquestionably be altered, in every particular, in which it is objectionable on that account; and all its ambimules, did it contain any, should be set clear." But it has been a ruling principle, with them, that unless it really contained something contrary to faith or good morals, it might be taken, and should not

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be altered. This we have heard repeated from every quarter, whenever occasion required. This you might have read in the red book, before mentioned. These are the words: "Unless your Lord." ships will undertake to pronounce the Oath here-tical or contrary to the Word of God, it should not be altered in one syllable." These are the terms of deference and respect in which, you say, Pres. p. 6. the Secretary writes, in his own private capacity, to the guardians of religion. Yet he has not formed an opinion, on the subject of debate!

I observed in the Dialogue, that it is a very difficult matter to qualify censureable propositions. Certain it is, that a proposition may be condemned as captious, ensnaring, scandalous, &c. without being directly contrary to faith or morality. When cenfured as fuch, by legal authority, it is then unlawful to maintain it, Why then should the Committee infift on their own qualifications: heretical or contray to the Word of God! Hence Bishop Talbot's verbal declaration, taken in the declared fense of the Committee, only imports, just what it fays, that the Oath is not contrary to faith or the Word of God: But it does not fay, that the Oath is not ambiguous, does not derogate from the principles of the Catholic Church, does not confound the Spiritual and temporal powers together, as your worthy superior fays of it: and as, I truft, I have proved it to be.

To what then does the Protestation of the Committee amount? To no more than this; that the Bishops should either declare the Oath to be downright

right heretical, or contrary to the Word of God, or otherwise they would not suffer them to amend or alter it. Under these instructions the Bishops had no alternative, but either to condemn or approve of the Oath, in toto. You represent the Committee as ready to admit of any alterations, which might be deemed necessary; in this your memoirs have deceived you. Arius, Pelagius, or any of the sort might, and have protested that they would change their opinions, if they were heretical.

But they debated the fact afterwards, and contended that their fentiments were not fuch. So have the Committee. I hope you will not a fecond time, impute to me infinuations, which I never thought of. I attack the cause, and your reasoning, not the persons or intentions of any man. I never thought that the Committee meant to attack religion; but they have in fact done it, though contrary to their intentions; by following, no doubt, evil Counsellors, instead of their Pastors. Even in this stage of the business, though late, let them submit, as they ought, to their Bishops, and request that they would alter the present Oath, or frame a new one, on the fame principles, to fatisfy all parties, and they will find the Bishops ready to meet them. If they wish to do their duty, they will follow this method. However difficult the talk of getting permission for alterations, this must be done, or a schism is inevitable. This, you justly observe, is a greater evil than all the penal laws: and if the Committee are as submissively disposed, as you represent them, they will do it, or give up the cause.

You allow, page 11. that the Bishops, in condemning the oath, acted within their Sphere-for they are lawful judges and arbitrators of all religious matters appertaining to doctrine and morals: in this we agree, and I am happy that we do: none of the Committee Divines have allowed this before. But this decision of the Bishops was of course canonical: then; with what appearance of truth, can you fay, page 15. " No where has it appeared, in proof, " that a project has been meditated either to elude the force of any canonical decision: or" &c; while you lavish encomiums, page 11. on the success of the Secretary, (who had not formed an opinion on the subjects in debate) in effectually fetting aside this canonical fentence, in the two districts! If this fentence was regular and canonical, how can you every where call this oath purely political? if it is fuch, the Bishops had nothing to do with it.

As to your Assembly on the 3d of February of this year, however respectable or numerous it might be, it consisted, as all their former assemblies have done, of at least nine tenths of laymen; and therefore was incompetent to discuss the sentiments of the Bishops, who were invited to be present. You mention this assembly, in several parts of your work, with as much respect as if it had been a national Council of Bishops; and seem to require an implicit assent to its decisions. What, Are we not only protesting Catholic Dissenters; but all at once Presbyterians, where the voice of the meanest mechanic weighs equal with that of the pastor! You tell us, there was but one dissenting voice! Who would not think

think, that this voice was that of some shopkeeper, or at least some ignorant priest! Who would ever dream that it was the voice of a Bishop! of Mr. Reeves's Bishop? Yet he writes, that he bears him the most profound respect!!! Did your original memoirs tell you who gave this diffenting voice? I hope not. The unanimous confent of all this lay-meeting should not weigh a grain of fand, in your mind, against the dissent of your Bishop: especially after the canonical censure passed on the oath, by him and his colleagues in office. But there were feveral others there who disapproved of the bufiness. There were feveral respectable persons, in town, who did not go to the meeting, because they disapproved of all meetings of the kind. There were others, who did not present themselves, because they supposed the meeting was intended to be between the Committee and the Bishops only, as it really should have been; not to contest their principles, or to debate the question: much less to out-vote them, by a shew of lay-hands: but to learn their duty, and follow the instruction of the pastors appointed by God to teach them. On most other occasions the Secretary of the Committee fent invitations to all the priefts, and most of the laymen; but for this time he did not. For this reason I, amongst many others, was not present. Indeed I am not forry I was not. I think I should not have been pleased to hear a learned and respectable prelate taught his catechism, and out-voted, in a doctrinal question, by a layaffembly; for fuch I will call it, notwithstanding the number of Clergymen present. I shall examine, in another

another place, whether the alteration adopted, in this lay-fynod, has amended the oath.

By the reft of your pamphlet, I should think that you, Sir, who bear fo much respect to the Church and her paftors, would have been grieved to fee fo many laymen hold up their hands against a Bishop: but my furprise is great indeed, when I read the accusation of fallies of intemperate language against him, p. 12. Where are they, Sir? He has only attacked mea-Is this the profound respect you fures, not men. bear to your pastor? Again, how you talk of the Committee's appeal from the canonical fentence of the Bishops, to the Catholics at large? What encomiums do you pass on that flimsy performance? Yet no project has been formed to elude the force of any canonical sentence; Was it not purposely calculated to ftir up rebellion against the pastors of the Church? Did it not raife those alarming convulsions you mention, in the fame page 12.? Yes, Sir, this alone was the cause of those symptoms of a schism among us, which your View of the Oath will not remove. Had every one submitted to the canonical decision of the Bishops, as in duty bound, where was the danger? But they endeavoured to fet aside that fentence?

You say, page 11. "The Secretary of the Com-"mittee immediately used his best endeavours to "persuade their Lordships to concur in making such alterations as they should judge necessary, for the admissibility of the oath," &c. Who would not imagine, from this, that these alterations were left to the Bishops? You go on: "He himself propo" fed to the prelate of the North such as he thought "would answer all their objectious!" This was wonderful in a person who had not formed an opinion on the matter. But, "nothing was concluded on." Your memoirs in this have led you aftray. He did not apply to all the Bishops. He did not offer sufficient alterations; and he knew well what alterations would have satisfied the Bishops; but he would not accept of them. This is the reason why nothing was concluded on.

You then examine the fubflance and general tendency of the oath, in which it is, as I before obferved, unnecessary for me to follow you. Some remarks may fuffice. You fay, page 14. " The re-" fpeclable affembly of the 3d of February has de-" clared the oath to be unobjectionable. Is it ra-" tional, or is it not, to acquiesce in their solemn " declaration?" I answer, were we Presbyterians, we might fubmit: as Catholics we can not, without the concurrence of our Bishops. It was a lay affembly, incompetent to decide on the bulinels. Two of the three Bishops, one present, were known to be against the decision. The alteration proposed however was no amendment, as I shall prove later. Then the former canonical fentence of the Bishops remained in full force. An appeal to this affembly was illegal; its fentence was not canonical; it was an attempt to let alide a fentence that was legal and regular.

Page 16. " It is now upwards of a year that our "protestation, in terms and substance the same as "the oath, has been signed and laid before the D "nation.

" nation. Has any finisher construction been put " upon it? Has it been received and confidered in " any other than a civil light:" &c. Indeed, Sir, this is flrange language held forth to people that can read. The oath is neither in terms nor substance the fame as the protestation. Three clauses of the oath, which have been objected to, are not hinted at in the protestation. If no difficulty has been found in it, whence all this disturbance among us? But even feveral Protestants, some equally versed in constitutional disquisitions with any in the nation, have unequivocally declared, that we might as well conform, at once, as take this oath. You will please to recollect, that " the form of the oath differs much from that " of the protestation, that for want of the preamble it " was become obscure:" &c. these are nearly your own words, p. q. and I suppose you are one of those Catholics at a distance from the metropolis, who made these remarks; at least you do not feem to blame those who did. How does this agree with the other quotation? This oath then, flript of the preamble, is neither in form, nor terms, nor fubffance the fame as the protestation: but stands on its own intrinsic merits; by which only it must be judged.

Whatever encomiums you may think proper to pass on the Committee, which I have not even a wish to call in question, we can not bind ourselves, on their authority, by an oath, which is so captions, &c. which has been formally condemned, by our Bishops, censured, by the Scottish and Irish Bishops, and also, by the Sovereign Pontiff.

I had observed, that the term Diffent always implied priorityand majority in what is differted from. To this you think a sufficient answer is given, page 90. You suppose that the Lords, who voted against the Bill of Henry VIII. would have been stiled Diffenting. Without doubt. But even here, they had both priority and majority against them. It was against an Act of Parliament that they diffented, and entered their protest; and this act had priority and majority for it. The fubfequent remarks you make, ibid. are totally wide of the question, unless you prove the words differt and differ, when applied to religion, to be fynonymous; which you never will do, till one or other change their obvious and ordinary meaning. But, " The term, that is applicable to the in-" dividuals of the Catholic Church, can not always, " with propriety, be applied to the Church itself:" page 21. Not when you fpeak of them as men or individuals; but when the term is applicable to them, only on account of their religion, then it may equally be applied to the Church. The denomination of English Catholic is a compound of a substantive and adjective, the former of which, by use and cuftom, is only applied to a man on account of the place of his nativity, the fubfiantive being underflood, and means no more than an Englishman who is a Catholic.

But the term Diffenters being only applicable to persons, on account of their new invented religion, to shew that they are not Papists; it is a flat contradiction to the term Catholic. To resute what you

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fay, ibid. that, it is not of our own choofing, I refer you to the Dialogue, and to the Committee's appeal to the Catholics, page 2.

Page 33. You tell us that the oath, in the opinion of Lawyers, Senators and Statesmen, "contains "not a single syllable, which in the plain and ob"vious acceptation of the words, taken continued"ly together in the context, affects either the spi"ritual authority of the Church, or the spiritual
prerogatives of the Pope. It therefore leaves our
religious tenets untouched, it intrenches upon no
point of saith; it lays no controul on the freedom
of speculative opinions, which neither concern the
state," &c. What a therefore! From the opinions
of those persons, you infer the sast! Can not they
be mistaken? Is it rational to believe them, in preference to all the British and Irish Bishops, and the
Vicar of Christ also! See the Dialogue, page 39.

I have already told you, that your principle from which you draw this bad consequence, is not true, and this is known to many Catholics in London. I might add, that the oath abjures and rejects a speculative opinion, the infallibility of the Pope, as a pernicious doctrine, which yourself says, is wholly harmless, and unconnected with every social and moral duty of a Christian. p. 46. Your gloss, upon the misconstruction of Protestants, does not change the nature of this opinion. It is still true that we renounce it; therefore the oath does controll our freedom in this speculative opinion.

Page 25. you tell us, that "in the presente of the Bill all the disclaimed dostrines are promise cuously stiled persicious," and then: "This political tendency to do hurt being the only motive assigned, by the legislature, for rejecting those dostrines, the rejection extends only to the point, where the tendency exists, and no farther." From these principles you very consistently infer, pages 45, and 46. that the infallibility of the Pope is only rejected, in as much as we deny him to have a right to command any thing unlawful, &cc. So that

This proposition; I folemnly swear that I acknowledge no infallibility in the Pope, means only, I swear, that he has no right to command me to do an unlamful action. Is not this a mental restriction? Do Protestants understand it so? Do Catholics? Have the Committee themselves understood it in that sense? See their Appeal, p. 2. and the Dialogue, p. 57. No, Sir, every one, till your pamphlet appeared, has invariably understood, that the oath abjured that very infallibility which you describe as harmless, p, 46, as the plain words import; no infallibility; I can not then admit of any infallibility whatever, without perjury. This, Sir, is another specimen of your variations.

The preamble of the before mentioned Bill of the hypocritical and intolerant James I. supposes that diverse persons frequent Church service to avoid the penalties of the laws, the intention of the subsequent sections is the better to discover such persons. Is this preamble to determine the sense of every solutions.

lowing clause? even those of the oath therein ordered to be taken; as well as of the oath of supremacy, prescribed, by the 20th section of this act, to be taken, by all, who have been reconciled to the See of Rome when abroad, within six days after their return? What absurdity!

I now come to that part of your work, which is the only real difficulty between us; the examination of your reasoning, on the different clauses of the path.

The first clause is, not only a profession of allegiance, but moreover a declaration of right, and this upon oath. I have not noticed this; and therefore will not suppose that you hint at me. However I have heard some very fensible persons object even to this claufe, on account of that declaration. The right, they have faid, of every Prince in the world, is foreign to a profession of allegiance; is a queflion, which not one in a thousand of any nation can ascertain, much less swear to; and therefore should not be inferted. You fay, page the first, " In an " oath-every thing most certainly ought to be " expressed, in a clear and satisfactory manner, to " those who take it. The sense should be distinctly " placed within the reach of their capacity; and " flrictly confined to the object it has in view." Whether this declaration of right is fuch, I leave to others to determine. I trust the other parts of this eath have been proved to be neither clear nor fatisfactory.

The act of fettlement is of a more ferious nature. You feem as if you wished to draw me into treason. You shall not. I am ready to fwear allegiance, as in duty bound, to his present Majesty, though a Proteflant: and shall ever be ready to do the same to his lawful fucceffors, though Protestants. This is not the debate between us. Whether the British parliament has or has not a right, to deprive a man of his effate, kingdom or life on account of his religion. I have not pretended to determine. It has done it: and by this Act whoever becomes a Catholic. gives up his right to the crown. This is not the debate between us. I have faid, and here repeat, that, while the oath flands, the act of fettlement cannot be repealed, without stigmatizing a whole nation with the guilt of perjury. To all this you fay not one word; but frame an argument for me, which I had no thought of; and then exult in the discovery!

In the discussion on the word heretical, p. 32, you have adopted a new plan. Another specimen of your variations. All your predecessors employed or supported, by the Committee, have invariably had recourse to the distinction of material and formal heresy. This distinction you justly call unsatisfactory, p. 32. It is now defined legal heresy. This is a new fort of heresy of which we have not heard. By a Statute in the first of Elizabeth, it is enacted, that nothing shall be accounted heresy, but what is determined as such, by the canonical Scriptures, the four first general Councils, or shall hereaster be deemed such by Parliament, with the consent of the

Clergy

Clergy in their Convocation. So I suppose were the doctrines of transubstantiation, invocation of faints, purgatory, &c. declared heretical, by the last mentioned authority, any one might lawfully swear that they are heretical, in the plain, obvious and ordinary sense of the word: after what you have faid on the infallibility of the Pope, I might infer that you would swear it: but, I hope, you would not find one to follow you.

But, Sir, in what Parliament, with the confent of the Convocation, has the deposing doctrine been declared heretical? If you cannot clear this point, as I believe you never will, then that doctrine is not heretical, even in your own fense of the To suppose it heretical, because the oath prescribed by Parliament, has the term, is not enough; we must have a formal decision that the doctrine is heretical, given by Parliament, with the confent of the Convocation. The words of the Statute quoted by yourfelf are; "Or fuch as shall " be ordered, judged, or determined to be herefy, by " the high Court of Parliament, with the confent " of the Clergy in their Convocation," therefore even a declaration of Parliament without the confent of the Convocation cannot make it herefy. It is not then even legally heretical.

I come now to the examination of the amended clause. In the oath it stands thus: "That no "foreign Prince, Prelate, &c. hath, or ought to have any civil jurisdiction or authority whatsower ever within this realm, or any spiritual authority,

" power

" power or jurisdiction whatsoever within this realm. " that can directly or indirectly, affect or interfere " with the independence, fovereignty, laws or con-" flitution of this kingdom, or with the civil or " ecclefiaftical government thereof, as by law effa-" bliffied; or with the rights, liberties, perfons, " or properties of the fubjects thereof." In the proteflation, to which you tell us it is altered, it is as follows: " No Church, nor any Prelate, &c. hath, " or ought to have any jurisdiction or authority " whatfoever within this realm, that can directly or " indirectly affect, or interfere with the indepen-" dence, foverignty, laws, conflitution, or govern-" ment thereof," &c. as in the oath. wrote the Dialogue I did not notice the difference. because I thought it would firike every one, on the flightest inspection, that the sense was tantamount in both the expressions. Does not, we authority what soever, fay as much as, no civil or spiritual authority what foever? The Committee's appeal, p. 5. will fet us right. The words (in the protestation) any and what soever, are furely tantamount to the words, any jurisdiction, spiritual or temporal; in the oath. So that they meant no amendment in the alteration, nor in fact is there any. All my objections therefore are still in full force against the pretended amendment, as you have not attempted to refute them. The government here comprehends both civil and ecclefiastical, so that the present oath is in sense and fubiliance exactly the fame as before.

Its obvious intent, you fay, p. 38. is only to disclaim the power of the Pope over temporals in the

Christian

Christian world: Be it so. But as it evidently goes farther than it intended, and disclaims also the rights of the primacy, which he holds from God alone, we cannot admit of it.

But we have figned the proteflation. We did fign it, with the preamble, which was faid to fix the meaning, with a number of affurances and explications, to declare the precise sense, in which we did fign it. The oath is now to be taken on its own intrinsic merits: it stands alone. You say yourself, p. g. Catholics at a distance. - " could not but " observe that the form of the oath differed much " from that of the proteftation; that for want of the " preamble it was become obscure; that there was, " in fine, an ambiguity of expression," &c. They confidered the plain and obvious fense of the words. and which the history of the oath cannot alter. What pity! that we should ever have signed any protest, in an explained sense, which was to be transferred to an oath, which is to be taken in the obvious and ordinary fense, in which it is worded; and therefore independent of any explication, or fecret refervation whatfoever.

The quotation from the Lovain Doctors, p. 38. is hardly orthodox: It is not true, that the Church cannot subject the State to any restraints or modifications. She can subject the State to the observance of her laws and censures: these may be severe restraints. The Lovain Doctors were then five in number, sent by the Emperor to teach his doctrines, not those of the Church. Such they were declared, by the Cardinal Archbishop of Mechlin,

in a Synodical examen of their principles. I have his account of this fynod, by me. The rest of the reasoning on this head is a repetition of the Blue Book, resuted in the Dialogue.

On the article of the oaths, p. 42. you labour hard to prove that this clause in the oath only refers to oaths between man and man, because it has a reference to the accufation lodged against us, that no oaths can bind us: and therefore must be underflood in a civil fense only, or it would be no answer to the objection, &c. Pray, Sir, did an answer never go beyond the objection? Did you never fee or hear of an answer, which added much of extraneous matter to the question? Now, Sir, this is precisely the case in debate between us. I contend that the answer, besides what is necessary to fatisfy the objection in its fullest extent, superadds not only what is unnecessary, but even what is evidently unlawful to advance; and this I prove from the plain, obvious and ordinary fense of the answer: you contend that it must be understood of civil oaths only, because the objection is flarted on that ground: thus you turn to the question to find out the fense of the answer. This may be necessary to find out the main object of both; but it will never prove that the answer does not say more than was necessary: nor will it prove that the unnecessary part of it is not erroneous. This reasoning will destroy the force of your arguments on every objectionable clause of the oath. You almost every where reason from what you suppose was meant; but scarce ever from the real import of the words.

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But ibid, you fay, " the word compati-fuffici-" ently indicates the nature and object of the oaths " mentioned close before."

This is a fort of an attempt to reason from the context, but alas! What a reason! Had it been said conjunctively, that no power can dispense in oaths and compacts; perhaps then it might have been understood only of compacts confirmed by oath. But, Sir, at it stands, it is evidently disjunctive; and denies a power of dispensing in either one, or the other, "can, at any time, dispense with, or "absolve me from the obligations of this oath, "or of any other oath, or of any compact what"fover."

You see here a flat and universal negation of any power to dispense in any oath, evidently distinct from the power of dispensing in compacts. This oath, or any other oath surely imports a difference between this oath, and every other: so also, any other oath, or from any compact, most certainly imports a difference between oaths and compacts.

These words therefore import an universal negation of the right of any authority on earth to dispense in any oath whatsoever. This is precisely what I have advanced in the Dialogue: and has universally been supposed and granted, by the Committee Divines, whenever called upon, or whenever they attempted to explain this exceptionable clause. The only excuse they have held forth to save themselves from error, on account of oaths made to God, has been the fallacious reasoning of the Dissenter, in the Dialogue, p. 33. They have invariably supposed

poled and granted, 1. that the oath, as it flands, abjures every power to dispense in any oath whatsoever; a. That oaths made to God are not comprehended in this oath, because such oaths are vows; fee the Committee's appeal, p. 7. I am ashamed of the Bull. 3. That no power can dispense, in any oath between man and man, You, Sir, very unwifely differ from your brethren in the two first points: and to support your more absurd hypothesis, accuse me of garbling, to make the oath say what it does not fay. Whether I am rightly accused of garbling, or you of jumbling together things totally different, I leave to be determined, by any one, who has the least recollection of his Logic. This, at all events, is another specimen of your variations. I wonder how the Committee can adopt your principles, or patronife your pamphlet, fince it contains fo many doctrines diametrically opposite to what they have, thus far, maintained. But error cannot be confiftent.

You ask one question, p. 43. and then retire in triumph: "Were he (myself) as eager to abjure "the Pope's dispensing power over oaths made to "God alone, as he is positive that it is here absurd;' (I suppose this to be a typograpical error, and that in place of absurd a term equivalent to expressed should be inserted) "would he be satisfied with the "manner, in which he now supposes it to be "here expressed." Indeed, Sir, this is all of a piece with the rest of your reasoning. But to give you a direct answer, I will honestly tell you, that I shall ever he content with an universal negation, when

when any particular contradictory is to be denied. I am quite aftonished that you should raise a dishculty about the matter. From my earliest acquaintance with logic, I was taught and believed, that whoever faid, no man is an a/s, faid just as much, as he who faid, neither Peter, nor Paul, Gc. is an as; so likewise he who says, no power on earth can dispense with the obligation of any oath, says as much, though he fays more, as he who fays, no power on earth can dispense in any oath made to God alone: for, Sir, a particular negative, is always included in its univerfal alternant. You force me to logic. I have the first edition of the Blue Book, and all the Committee Divines to support me in this particular. If they wish not to add to the number of variations already hinted at, they will support me, even against their last champion.

But, Sir, in regard of oaths, I have not done with you; you unequivocally deny every dispensing power in any oath between man and man. Indeed, in this, you consistently agree with your predecessors of the same stamp; because all such oaths are civil.

I had mentioned, in the Dialogue, p. 54. a very uncivil oath extorted by fraud or violence, and had afferted, that although the tie of justice was done away, by the means employed to extort the oath; yet the religious obligation contracted thereby, if any is contracted, which must be the case when the oath is valid, could not be loosed but by dispensation. In this, Sir, I have done nothing, but barely explain the universal doctrine of the Catholic Church. How dare you to contradict that doctrine?

You have not attempted to answer me; but have throughout supposed me in the wrong. We knew what the Blue Book had said before; and indeed, it is expressed in clearer and more expressive terms than the second edition of it: but you only repeat it. I had started objections against the Blue Book; instead of answering them, you faintly re-affert the erroneous doctrince contained in it, without proof, or explication, or answer.

You do not attempt to justify the oath in the two articles of absolution at the will of a priest, and not keeping faith with heretics, &cc. You might here with equal justice, have accused me of garbling to make the oath say what it does not say. For whereas the oath says, heretic or insidel, I have only extracted the word insidel, p. 52. because I allow of no breach of faith with heretics; but conscious of the sallacy of your own reasoning; seeling that he who denied a breach of faith with insidel or heretic, denied it to be lawful with either, even separately taken; you therefore pass over whatever I have said, without notice; as you have also done the greatest part of the Dialogue. I conclude then, you could not answer it.

I have already noticed the dangerous doctrine you hold out from page 45. concerning the fense, in which you are ready to abjure the infallibility of the Pope: I shall only add here, that if the false notions of Protestants concerning that doctrine, authorise you to renounce and abjure it, in the plain, obvious, and ordinary sense, yet with this mental restriction;

ceived it; you might equally abjure transfubstantiation, or any other Catholic tenet, which they have equally represented in odious and pernicious colours. That is; I abjure all the errors and mischies attributed to the dollrine, but not the dollrine itself; although the words plainly and obviously should abjure the dollrine itself, on account of these supposed errors. This doctrine, Sir, is evidently sounded on equivocation and mental restriction, which is also abjured by the oath. I will only add, that I as sincerely abjure and detest this your doctrine as I do that of Luther; and in this I have the whole Catholic world with me.

Before I take my leave, I will tell you, that we hear from the friends of the Committee, that they are determined to bring the Bill into Parliament, in the ensuing Session. Then let those take the oath who can, and the reft may take their chance. We have heard members of the Committee declare their fatisfaction, on reflecting on the prefent critical and dangerous fituation of our affairs; adding, the prefent oath will show who are Papists; and those who dare avow themselves such, let them suffer according to the laws, as they deferve. They have been filent fince the lay-fined of the 3d of February: At the General Meeting in May, they declined entering on the debate; on a motion of thanks for their judicious exertions in the Catholic cause. Three Gentlemen present objected to the motion; because they thought that the exertions of the Committee

were not judicious. These exertions have set aside the authority of our pastors; have brought us to the fatal dilemma of renouncing our religion, or of being fligmatized as difaffected fubjects: they have fown the feeds of a fchifm among us, which will inevitably end in a feparation from the Catholic Church: fuch exertions can hardly be stiled judicious. However those Gentlemen were not suffered to proceed; but were told that the oath was out of the question. This may ferve as a specimen of the freedom of debate allowed at their meetings. We may fuppole, that, as the question had been finally decided, in their General Council of the ad of February, they would not fuffer it to be debated a fecond time. In these circumstances can we conscientioully fuffer ourselves to be guided, by those, who have thus exerted themselves? Are we to forget that we can read, and implicitly trust to the forced explications of common language? Shall we lay afide our divinity, and begin to fludy it again upon different principles? Shall we submit to take, for our mafters and teachers, laymen and lawyers? We have indeed heard much boasting of the privileges of common fense, and much declamation against theological accuracy. These principles are the groundwork of the Reformation, projected in Germany, Hungary and France, as well as in England. But this supposition necessarily involves two others: 1. That common fense is the last tribunal to decide on the religion of Christ; which is not true. 2. That theological accuracy is in opposition to real com-

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mon fense. This indeed has been afferted, with much confidence: but as it came chiefly from a quarter, where a more dangerous study has made deep and lafting impressions, we may suppose that this will not be taken upon credit.

I shall here take leave of your pamphlet. I am forry to be condemned to the talk of reviewing your View. It is not your fault if you have been deceived in certain facts, by unfaithful memoirs. But, Sir, you should have reviewed your arguments; for I will aver that I never read a pamphlet fo replete with fallacy. A friend of mine, and your's too, till he faw your pamphlet, writes to me as follows: " I have read the flimfy attack made upon you, by

- " Mr. Reeve, who ought never to have written to
- " preserve the favourable opinion I entertained of
- " him."

As I have not the honour of your acquaintance, I hope you will confider this necessary felf-defence as levelled at your publication, not at your person. You, Sir, have, till now, juftly enjoyed a confiderable reputation even as a writer. I have dipped into your publications with pleasure and profit too. May you long continue to exhibit these laudable exertions, in the cause of religion. One thing is yet wanting, and which we have a right to expect from you; you possess a considerable share of the Committee's confidence; you vouch for their docility; then, Sir, exert yourfelf for the fake of peace, perfuade them to join with the Bishops, and leave them w make fuch alterations as they shall judge necessary. Write

Write to the leaders among them; tell them, in the language of an orthodox old missionary, that they are in duty bound to submit to their pastors, appoint. ed by legal authority; tell them, that they must not pretend to cite them before a Lay-Council; they must not bully them, nor out-vote them by a flew of hands facrilegiously and schismatically listed up against them, in doctrinal points, of which they only are competent judges. Tell them to point out what they wish to have couched, in the oath, and then leave the wording of it to the Bishops. That, if they can not get these alterations accepted, the cause must be dropped for the present, for the sake of peace; and that a schism otherwise inevitable, is a far greater evil, than all the penal laws. If they hear you, you will gain your brethren; if not, you will then fee that they have deceived you: and that their proteflations are only made to enfnare.

I am, REV. SIR,

With due Respect, &c.

William Billing.

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